

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE

OBSERVATIONS:

It would appear, from a review of Bufiles and Johnson's testimony, the Arkansas Legislative Council Committee in setting up the hearings is attempting to create the impression that communism is behind the racial unrest in the South, particularly in Arkansas. While Johnson's testimony is historically accurate, it is noted he is not in a position to speak authoritatively regarding the present tactics and activities of the CP in the Negro field as he was dropped from the CP in 1939. It would appear Johnson was attempting to prove or infer that the present racial unrest is the result of CP policies formulated in the 1920s and 30s. This premise is not supported by data in Bufiles; however, it is observed the CP, at every opportunity, has attempted to capitalize on the situation in furthering its own aims and in embarrassing the U. S. Government. Johnson's testimony adds nothing to our knowledge of this field.

ACTION:

For the Director's information.

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DETAILS:

The "Washington Capital News Service" release dated 12/18/58 carried an article concerning the testimony of Manning Johnson, former Communist Party (CP) member, before the Arkansas Legislative Council Committee investigating a possible link between communism and racial unrest in Arkansas. During his testimony, Johnson advised he was a CP member from 1930-1940; he quit the Party at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Pact; and has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and committees of state legislatures in Washington and Louisiana. Johnson further testified as follows:

- (1) He joined the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC) in 1930; described it as the first communist front organization formed among Negroes; stated the Congress was born in Chicago in 1925 and it was formed with the thought in mind of stirring up trouble in the South.
- (2) He was sent by the CP to a secret training school in New York; became one of the major Negro leaders in the CP in America; quoted at length a resolution passed by the Communist Internationale in 1928 which called for agitation among and recruitment of Negroes; in 1928 the whole program that is unfolding today was worked out by the Secretariat of the CP; in 1930 the Internationale issued a supplemental resolution calling for confiscation of plantations in the South and distribution among the Negro shareholders; and to accomplish this, a League of Struggle for Negro Rights (LSNR) was set up which was to operate throughout the South, including Arkansas.
- (3) He charged the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) misquoted his testimony before the Louisiana Legislative Committee in March, 1957. Johnson stated he told that Committee he was an associate research director and had cooperated with various agencies of the Federal Government in the investigation and prosecution of communists. He stated the NAACP put out a press release which claimed he stated he was an associate research director of the Department of Justice. Johnson stated there is no such position, yet the NAACP picked that up in a crude attempt to smear him from one end of the country to another.

Regarding the above release, the Director noted "What about this?"

In answer to the Director's question the following information is set forth.

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Background of Manning Johnson:

Johnson, a Negro, was born in 1908 in Washington, D. C., and was a member of the CP from 1930-1939, when he was dropped for deviation from Party policies. During the time he was in the Party, he was a member of the National Central Committee. He was a paid FBI informant from April, 1942, to February, 1944, inasmuch as he still had Party contacts and was able to supply information regarding the CP, its members and activities. He has appeared number of times as a witness on behalf of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Department of Justice in Smith Act of 1940 and Internal Security Act of 1950 cases and various congressional committees. In March, 1957, he appeared as a witness during hearings of the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee which was conducting hearings on segregation in the State of Louisiana. In the past the credence of his testimony has been attacked, based on his admission at the Steve Nelson Pennsylvania State Sedition trial in 1950 that he had not told the truth in testimony in 1948 during the deportation proceedings against Nat Yanish.

Inasmuch as Manning Johnson has not been a member of the CP since 1939, it would not appear that he is in a position to speak authoritatively concerning the present policy of the CP in regard to the Negro question.

Item One of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, it is noted that the ANLC was formed at a convention held during the week of 10/25/25 in Chicago, Illinois. According to its constitution, its purpose was: "To unify and strengthen the efforts of all organizations of Negro workers and farmers, as well as organizations composed of both Negro and white workers and farmers, and sympathetic organizations, and also individuals, for the protection of discrimination, persecution, and exploitation of the Negro race and the working people generally."

The national organizer of the ANLC was Lovett Fort-Whiteman. In an article entitled "The Negro Movement - American Negro Labor Congress," which appeared in the 8/27/25 issue of "International Press Correspondence," the author commented on the meeting of the ANLC which was to take place in October, 1925. He stated in the article: "The fundamental aim in calling the American Negro Labor Congress is to establish in the life of the American Negro working class an organization which may serve as a medium through which the American Communist Party may reach and influence the Negro working class, and at the same time may constitute something of a recruiting ground for the Party."

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"International Press Correspondence" is cited as "the organ of the Communist Internationale" on page 103 of the "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued by the HCUA dated 1/2/57.

In 1930 the name of the ANLC was changed to the LSNR because ANLC was too narrow in its approach and for the period of its existence was almost completely isolated from the basic masses of the Negro people. The LSNR ceased to exist in 1936.

Review of Johnson's file (Bufile 100-55627) does not reflect information that he was a member of the ANLC. However, in view of the fact he was active in work among the Negroes for the CP, in all probability he was a member. His membership would have been short-lived inasmuch as he claimed he joined the organization in 1930, the same year the organization became defunct.

Item Two of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, it is noted he testified he was sent to a secret training school by the CP in New York City. Johnson's file reflects that in 1932 he was sent by the CP to a CP school in New York for three months; however, his file does not describe this school as a "secret training school."

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist Internationale was held in Moscow, Russia, in 1928. This Congress adopted in October, 1928, a resolution defining the Negro people of the United States as an "oppressed race" and promulgated "full social and political equality for the Negroes" as the central slogan of the CP on this issue. It directed the CP, USA, to "come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the Southern States. In addition, the resolution called for a "strong Negro revolutionary movement in the USA" which would be in a position "to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism." The Communist Internationale issued a supplemental resolution in October, 1930, which stated that: "In the South...the main communist slogan must be: The Right of Self-Determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt." It set forth the "three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt: (a) Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers; (b) establishment of the state unity of the Black Belt; and (c) right of self-determination."

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The CP defined self-determination as the formation of an independent national state that has a right to complete secession. The CP envisioned a Negro republic encompassing 12 Southern States.

Self-determination and establishment of a Negro republic remained the basic CP policy in the Negro field until quite recently. At the CP national committee meeting in New York City 12/6 and 7/58, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a functionary of the Southern Regional Committee, CP, USA, delivered a report on the Negro question. His major point was that since the Negroes in the U.S. do not constitute a separate nation, the Party should abandon its slogan of self-determination for the Negroes in the Southern States and instead concentrate on gaining for the Negroes full equality, complete participation in all aspects of American life and increased representation in public office. O'Dell called for increased Party participation in the activities of the noncommunist Negro protest and improvement organizations. O'Dell's report was approved by the national committee.

The CP, since its organization in the U.S. in 1919, has always devoted a portion of its time, funds and propaganda to Negro matters. Since its inception, it has urged equal rights for the Negroes; with its demands subject to various degrees of emphasis, governed primarily by the exigencies of the Soviet Union in international affairs. The activities of the CP, USA, are motivated not by the desire to improve the status of the Negro in our society, but to exploit legitimate Negro grievances and all racial incidents and disturbances for the furtherance of communist aims.

Despite the recurring allegations by Southern political leaders that the racial situation is communist inspired, our investigation of the CP and the over-all racial situation in this country has reflected that in practically all instances, with relatively few exceptions, racial incidents in this country have not been caused or inspired by CP elements. The CP has, of course, been alert to seize upon each such incident as it develops and has attempted to propagandize them to the benefit of the communist movement and to the embarrassment of our Government.

There has been no information developed that any activities at Little Rock, Arkansas, have been communist inspired. The Party, of course, has capitalized to the fullest extent on the Little Rock situation in attempting to embarrass the U.S. Government. For example, following the placing of national guard troops at the high school in Little Rock by the Governor of Arkansas, the "Daily Worker" dispatched one of its writers, Virginia Gardner, to cover the situation. She remained for several days and wrote several feature stories. The "Daily Worker" indicated it would like to send her to Little Rock again but lacked the funds.

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Item Three of Johnson's Testimony:

Regarding this item of Johnson's testimony, a review of the transcript of the hearings of March, 1957, before the Louisiana Joint Legislative Committee reflects on page 137 that Johnson, in answer to the question concerning his occupation, stated at that time he was working as an associate research director and occasionally he cooperated with various agencies of the Federal Government in the investigation and prosecution of communists. Page 139 of the transcript reflected Johnson stated he had worked with the FBI and had continuously cooperated with the FBI, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. He testified he was an analyst and consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The 4/1/57 issue of "The Times-Picayune," a New Orleans, Louisiana, daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "NAACP Requests Witness' Status." This article stated the NAACP had asked Attorney General Brownell to clarify what position, if any, was held in the Department of Justice by Manning Johnson. The article noted in this regard that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, cited newspaper accounts of Johnson's testimony before the Louisiana Committee, which accounts identified Johnson as "director of research for the Department of Justice." The 4/20/57 issue of the "Pittsburgh Courier," a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, daily newspaper, carried an article entitled "Smear on NAACP is Hit by Justice Department." This article reflected the Department informed the NAACP that recent statements made by Johnson attempting to link the NAACP with the CP did not reflect the views nor findings of the Justice Department; that Johnson was not one of its employees as reportedly cited in various newspaper accounts; and that Johnson in no way was connected with the Department nor did he speak for the Department.

Subversion In Racial Unrest

AN OUTLINE OF A STRATEGIC WEAPON TO
DESTROY THE GOVERNMENTS OF LOUISIANA
AND THE UNITED STATES

PART I



PUBLIC HEARINGS
OF THE
STATE OF LOUISIANA
JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

MARCH 6-9, 1957

62-103863-13

F B I

Date: 1/17/59

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LITTLE ROCK (44-341)

ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

Re Bureau teletype to Little Rock, 1/17/59, requesting
a copy of report released by Attorney General BRUCE BENNETT.

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau is one copy of requested
report.

Review and analysis will be furnished to Bureau in
accordance with instructions in referenced teletype. P

CASPER

Enclosure 1
LJM/jgl
(4)

62-105198-8
26 JAN 20 1959

REC-30

EX-155

encl page, pages 1, 27,
28, 29
2 copies made

for review of FBIHQ by

HSC-A Committee
Re: Bennett
JAN 18 4/4/59

53 FEB 20 1959

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ENCLOSURE TO BUREAU FROM LITTLE ROCK:

One copy of report released by Attorney General BRUCE BENNETT

Re: ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL COMMITTEE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
INTERNAL SECURITY

LR FILE 44-341

ENCLOSURE

H E A R I N G
BEFORE
THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE
OF THE
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

HELD DECEMBER 16, 17 AND 18, 1958, COMMENCING AT 9:30
O'CLOCK, A.M. DECEMBER 16, 1958, IN THE HOUSE CHAMBER,
STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, IN THE CITY OF LITTLE ROCK,
ARKANSAS.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, Chairman
Senator Charles F. Smith, Vice-Chairman
Senator J. Lee Bearden
Senator Clifton Wade
Senator Tom Allen
Senator Max Howell
Senator Marshall Shackleford, Jr.
Rep. E. C. "Gene" Fleeman
Rep. John P. Bethell
Rep. Marcus J. Howell
Rep. Marion H. Crank
Rep. Carroll C. Hollensworth
Rep. Joel Y. Ledbetter

BRUCE BENNETT, Attorney General, State of Arkansas, conducted
the interrogation of witnesses.

I.

AUTHORITY

RESOLUTION NO. 28
(Amended)

WHEREAS, the people of Arkansas have lived harmoniously for 150 years and men of all races have made untold progress in economic, social and political fields, and;

WHEREAS, it now appears that there may be certain individuals, organizations or corporations designedly creating and fomenting strife and racial unrest, and;

WHEREAS, it is a known fact that communism breeds on strife and turmoil and it is in the public interest of the people of our State to pinpoint and ascertain who those individuals, organizations and corporations, if any, are, and;

WHEREAS, it is the sense of the Arkansas Legislative Council that public hearings should be conducted to determine if there is any subversion present in the racial unrest that has been recently created,

purpose
BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that the Arkansas Legislative Council by affirmative motion, hereby authorizes the Special Education Committee heretofore appointed by Resolution to conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest and that the Committee invite the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct such interrogation of witnesses that may be called at such hearings; that the Attorney General of Arkansas use his subpoena power to secure such witnesses, documents and papers that may be of value in such hearings; that after such hearings are conducted, the said Special Education Committee shall report its findings to the Legislative Council.

Respectfully submitted,

s/ Paul Van Dalsem
Representative, Perry County

Filed: August 15, 1958.

Amended and Adopted: August 15, 1958.

*Special Education Committee
of the Arkansas Legislative Council
Held 12/16-17-18/55
Little Rock,
Ark*

II.

OPENING STATEMENT OF BRUCE BENNETT, ATTORNEY GENERAL

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, I feel that we are gathered here today on a very serious occasion. I respectfully ask your indulgence in order that I might make a statement with reference to

*not in
substantive
in hearing
should be
in front
2/1/58*

the purpose for which this meeting has been called, the objects thereof, and what the Resolution of the Arkansas Legislative Council directed this Committee to do.

The Resolution authorized the Special Education Committee to "conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest", and invited the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct the interrogation of witnesses that might be called at such hearings.

Congressional committees conducting investigations on the same subject matter have the power of nationwide subpoena; the subpoena power of this investigation, by law, does not extend further than the borders of our State. As a further comparison, this Committee does not have the power to cite a balky witness for contempt. So we must of necessity proceed with those witnesses within the borders of Arkansas and with those that will come into our State by invitation.

Last year, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 350 U.S. 497, 100 L.Ed. 640, directed its opinion at "suspending the enforceability" of state laws imposing criminal sanctions on subversive activity directed against the Federal government. In the Nelson decision, the Court pointed out that it did not void provisions of state law insofar as they made it a crime in the States to attempt to overthrow the Federal government by unlawful means, but merely suspended their enforceability while the Federal Smith Act remained on the books.

We are probably in the second most serious crisis that our State has undergone in its entire 124-year history. For many decades the different races in Arkansas have lived in peace; they have made progress in the educational, cultural and economic fields. Our people in this State have always lived in peace. The recent emotional explosion here was not the result of something that occurred overnight. It will be the purpose of this Committee to learn - - - and I believe the witnesses will so establish, who did what, where, when, and how - - - on world, national, regional and local basis, *the cause of* as related to racial unrest in Arkansas.

It is expected that the witnesses will prove by their testimony and official press, programs, resolutions and pictures, that Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and other Arkansas cities, are segments in the international scheme of the Russian Kremlin - - - which has used communists, ^{+ the like} pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped - - - to create confusion and turmoil here.

" The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, once stated:

"To me, one of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on Communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites." //

It has also been said:

"If a barnyard goose is lured into a flock of wild geese, he may be excused for his mistake only IF HE LEAVES THE FLOCK. But if he FLIES IN FORMATION with them day after day he is a wild goose at heart. Likewise, if a man is unwittingly drawn into a Communist organization, he can be excused for his gullibility only IF HE LEAVES THE GROUP AND DENOUNCES ITS PURPOSES. But if he "flies in formation" with them he is a Communist at heart, irrespective of his loud noise to the contrary."

The Communist Party uses individuals, organizations, high-sounding front names, and any other means in its avowed program of international conquest by force.

It is expected that the witnesses here will show the local relationship of various individuals and organizations with that of national, regional and local organizations. It will be shown beyond a doubt that the race agitation in the Southern United States is a communist conspiracy adopted in October, 1930, by resolution passed by the Communist International. At that time Moscow laid down the proposition that race agitation in the Southern United States was to be pursued full speed ahead. Its purpose was to bring about a revolution in the United States on racial lines climaxed with land division similar to the agrarian reform in China, which was on an economic and land basis, and which has resulted in the death of 20,000,000 Chinese in the past 15 years.

The communist resolution of 1930 outlined a plan wherein those counties in the states of the South where the Negro is or was in numerical majority were to be target areas; the Negro was to rise up, drive off or kill the landowners and each receive, as was done in China, a portion of land. The general scheme of the plan involved the proposition that "all people who are a majority but do not own the land are Colonials." The "Southern" American Negro was defined to be a Colonial, and as such, he must be "liberated" through the "Black Republic". This was to be accomplished by violence. Experts in the field of communism will testify that insofar as the communist interest goes, schools and other integration objectives were and are tactics. In pursuance of this "Black Republic" proposal, the communists planned and have used non-communists with good intentions.

The witnesses to be presented will prove, by official communist documents, pamphlets and press clippings, that Little Rock and Pine Bluff were predetermined trouble areas and designated officially by the Communist Party many years ago to be developed for trouble purposes. Since 1925, the testimony will show some of our people have been wittingly or unwittingly consorting with, collaborating

or cooperating with the communist apparatus. These people knew who or what they were cooperating with, and it is my thought that those who claim they did not are not worthy of public confidence and leadership. The records to be introduced will make incredible a claim of ignorance or innocence. Those who have been consorting with communists, communist fronts, or organizations are doing more for the known subversives and their cause than can be or was done by all the outside communists combined. I am reliably informed that there are now only about 9,000 hardcore communists in the United States. They are dedicated - - - they are past masters in the recruitment and use of dupes and others whose intentions may be good, but in reality, they are aiding and abetting the scheme to foment revolution in the United States.

It is expected that the witnesses will establish interlocking memberships, interlocking boards of directors, meetings of same - - - in and out of Arkansas - - - and other actions that tie Little Rock into an almost incredible combination of individuals and organizations who help to create and "maintain Little Rock." We will attempt to document a record that will prove that from 1928 to 1958 an intensive communist conspiracy climaxed in Little Rock, and that the purpose of these incidents is to attract and use the Negro - - - not to help the Negro.

Some individuals in Arkansas have become officers, directors of national and regional organizations that are loaded to the hilt with other individuals who have aided and abetted communists and communist front organizations time after time.

The United States House Committee on Un-American Activities has, at present, listed more than 469 organizations as subversive. In addition, the United States Attorney General, under the power vested in him by executive order 10450, has listed many other organizations as communist or communist front.

This Committee is concerned with the word "subversion". Basic to this investigation should be the definition of that word. Webster's Unified Dictionary defines "subversion" as:

"To turn upside down, overthrow, destroy. To subvert is to overthrow as if from a foundation; to overturn often implies throwing with force from a base or position; to overthrow usually denotes complete destruction, as, to overthrow a government;"

Some of the witnesses that will appear before this Committee will detail the program of world conquest as drafted by the Marx-Engels-Stalin-Khrushchev combine. They will describe the communist apparatus as it pertains to executing the program of Russian Communism - - - they will substantiate the plan of execution as it pertains to the organization in use of those hundreds of front organizations that have been organized and used by the communists.

Most of our people have a past acquaintance with the name of Gerhart Eisler, Stalin's personal representative to the United States, who was to work with the communists to overthrow our government and who later, after conviction, fled to his country on the communist ship "Batory"; Harry Bridges, the West Coast Communist; Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and many other notorious communists.

The names of Charles Gomillion, Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, Claude C. Williams, Pete ~~Seegar~~, James A. Dombrowski, and others, whom I will refrain from naming at this time, will crop up during these hearings.

Certain individuals in this State have been the willing or unwilling tools of subversion; they have joined organizations shot through and through with individuals who have been cited for aiding and/or abetting communist or communist front organizations, periodicals and other aspects of the apparatus.

An occurrence that appears to be isolated will not necessarily
arouse the public mind, but when numerous incidents occur - - -
when the same individuals are found at the forefront of those
incidents - - - when it is proven that all of the incidents, all
of the contacts, all of the interlocking directorships, and other
occurrences point to the general scheme of communist penetration,
there can be but one conclusion. That conclusion is ~~that~~ sub-
version is present.

The witnesses to appear before you will talk of many organi-
zations, some of which perhaps you have never heard. They will
talk of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Southern
Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the Southern Regional Council,
the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the Highlander
Folk School, the National Negro Congress, the African Blood
Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the Southern
Youth Congress, and many others. Some of these have been listed
as subversive and others are shot through and through with offi-
cers and directors cited innumerable times for lending aid and
support to communist organizations and fronts.

In the basic Resolution passed by the Legislative Council,
the Attorney General was invited to conduct the interrogation of
the witnesses. The subject of subversion is a delicate matter.
It has been said that a man may be robbed of his money and worldly
goods, but when you rob him of his good reputation you have stolen
his most valuable treasure. With this thought in mind, your
Attorney General has insisted that any statement by a witness be
substantiated with pertinent documentary evidence, but I believe
it to be my duty and your duty, under our oath of office, to submit
proof of those who "fly in formation with the wild geese," and
noisy disclaimers to the contrary will not refute the fact that
he, she or the organization is subversive at heart if time after
time they are found flying in formation with others who teach,
preach and follow the communistic line.

Today America is spending billions of dollars on National Defense and Foreign Aid in an effort to prevent the iron curtain from being located nearer and nearer the borders of the free world. With over half the world's population now held in Russian slavery, it behooves the free men of the world to do all within our power to aid in this fight. Make no mistake, the Russian plan of domination has not deviated from its original concept. You will be told on good authority that the communists are master fishermen for the minds of men in troubled waters. Communism breeds on chaos and turmoil.

In the entire history of the civilized world, nowhere has so much peace and progress been enjoyed between the white and black people as that in the South. The Negroes of the South are the leaders of the black race throughout the world. This pre-existing peace is something that has been treasured by all men of goodwill. It is more than just a working relationship, ^{based} and it bottoms on a deep affection and mutual respect that all of you who have lived in this State have known and enjoyed.

I feel sure that it is the hope of this Committee that the normal peace and tranquillity between our people will be strengthened, restored and preserved so that those generations to come will benefit therefrom.

III.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

ORGANIZATIONS

1. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a New York corporation organized in 1911. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of this organization for approximately 10 years. The NAACP received contributions in Arkansas of \$182.00 in 1957, yet it spent over \$50,000.00 in this State during that year on litigation and other integration endeavors. It is a well known fact that the NAACP has been the moving factor in filing integration suits in this State, designed not only to integrate the schools, but the public parks, swimming pools and golf courses, and has the ultimate goal of invalidating the statutes forbidding intermarriage among the races. Many of the officials of this organization, both local and national, have an almost incredible tie-in with communist and communist front organizations.

2. FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. The Fund for the Republic received a grant of fifteen million dollars from the Ford Foundation several years ago, but the Ford Foundation subsequently decided not to make further grants. The Fund for the Republic has made grants totaling \$497,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, which in turn has made grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Harry Ashmore is one of the directors of the Fund for the Republic, and was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and as such, made two direct grants from the Fund for the Republic to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which was organized for the purpose of instigating and pushing integration in Arkansas.

3. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. This organization is based at Atlanta, Georgia, and ~~Jim~~ Jackson, a notorious Negro communist, participated in its organization. Many of its officers and

directors are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations that have been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and the Attorney General of the United States. Daisy Bates is also a director of this organization. It appears that the main purpose of this organization is to push for integration of everything in the South.

4. ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations was incorporated in Arkansas in 1955. Harry Ashmore was one of the three incorporators, as well as Christopher C. Mercer, who at that time was legal counsel for the NAACP in Arkansas. Its articles of incorporation recite that it is beholden to the Southern Regional Council. Its avowed purpose is to assist in the integration activities in Arkansas. It is highly significant that after the Fund for the Republic—with Harry Ashmore as director—started making grants to the Southern Regional Council in 1954—with Daisy Bates as a director—the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was organized in Arkansas—with Harry Ashmore and Daisy Bates as officers—to participate in the receipt of these grants. At the height of the Little Rock incident in September, 1957, the Fund for the Republic by-passed the Southern Regional Council and sent direct grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. None of the television, radio or newspaper people of Arkansas knew the objectives or financial setup of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; however, the Council has received contributions of over \$30,000.00 in the past three years but the disposition thereof is unknown.

5. SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND. The headquarters of this organization is New Orleans, Louisiana. The notorious James A. Dombrowski is executive secretary. He has been cited dozens of times for his subversive activities, and has participated in practically every left wing, communistic front that

has been organized in the South for the past 20 years. L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, Dr. Albert Howard Carter, and Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, all of Arkansas, are directors of this organization. In a policy statement issued by the organization on June 12, 1954, the directors stated: "The Fund has devoted its efforts to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination."

INDIVIDUALS

1. DAISY BATES. Daisy Bates has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of the NAACP for a number of years. She is also a national director of the NAACP, is a director of the Southern Regional Council and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1948, MRS. Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 people who signed a petition to place Henry Wallace on the ballot in Arkansas as a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. In 1954, Daisy Bates attended a meeting in Little Rock, at which Dr. Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee, Alabama, was on the panel. McDaniel was sent into Arkansas by the National NAACP to make a survey of cities which that organization thought might be targets for its activities. Gloster B. Current, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Dan Byrd, and other individuals from the national office of the NAACP were also present at the meeting. According to the press, plans were made at this meeting for the solicitation of plaintiffs and subsequent filing of lawsuits which precipitated the racial unrest as evidenced by the Central High School incident. Daisy Bates has also worked in close association with Clarence Laws of New Orleans, Louisiana, in furtherance of the NAACP in Arkansas.

2. L. C. BATES. L. C. Bates is the publisher of the Arkansas State Press, a Negro weekly newspaper published in

Little Rock, Ark.

5/3/53

Little Rock. He is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. On July 31, 1958, he signed an ad in the Washington Post petitioning the House Un-American Activities Committee not to hold hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, designed to investigate subversion in the South. The record of the Atlanta hearing reflects that numerous witnesses took the stand under oath, and subsequently invoked the First and Fifth Amendments on questions as to their communist membership or activities. A clipping from his newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, dated March 26, 1954, bemoans the findings of the Jenner Committee that resulted from the hearings in New Orleans, wherein it was found that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is the successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which is subversive, with the same address, executive director and officers.

3. HENRY WALLACE. Wallace was a presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948. When he came to Arkansas that year, he refused to sign an affidavit, which is required by Arkansas law, to the effect that his party is not affiliated with, associated with, or controlled by the Communist Party. He was accompanied by Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky, and Leonard Farmer when he appeared at the Capitol, and left the Secretary of State's office arm in arm with Daisy Bates. Pictures were made on the front steps of the Capitol, wherein Daisy Bates appeared on Wallace's left; L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky and Leonard Farmer also appeared in the picture. The electors of Wallace were subsequently placed on the ballot as independents, and L. C. Bates, Daisy Bates and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 signers of the petition.

4. LEONARD FARMER. Leonard Farmer was a communist in the State of Arkansas from at least 1948 through 1951. When Henry Wallace came to Arkansas, Farmer gave an inter-racial breakfast for him at his home on West Markham. Farmer is a man of means, and told a deliberate falsehood to the Supreme Court of Arkansas when he applied for admission as an attorney after graduating from the University of Arkansas in 1951. He graduated from

Harvard prior to coming to Arkansas, and although he has at least two college degrees, he is now working as a truck driver for the Pepperridge Bread Company in Connecticut.

5. LADISLAV ~~PUSHKARSKY~~. Ladislav Pushkarsky was associated in the Wallace movement in 1948. He signed the petition for Wallace and appeared at the Capitol with him. He actively supported the communist philosophies in Arkansas in 1947 and 1948, and at the present time is voluntarily behind the Russian iron curtain in Poland, and has renounced his American citizenship.

6. CLARENCE ~~LAWS~~. Clarence Laws is field secretary for the NAACP, and works actively for that organization in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. He has been quoted extensively in the past year by the Little Rock morning newspaper, and has worked in close association with Daisy Bates. He was discharged from the United States Army as a reserve commissioned officer "under the provisions of paragraph 6B(8), Army Regulations 140-175, which authorizes discharge for security reasons when such action is necessary in the interest of national security." The discharge was predicated upon his activity in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, predecessor of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, all of which have been cited as communist fronts. He was the principal spokesman for the NAACP in connection with the racial trouble at Van Buren, Little Rock and Hoxie.

7. DR. ~~VERNON~~ MCDANIEL. Dr. Vernon McDaniel, on a leave of absence from the Tuskegee Institute granted by Dr. Charles Gomillion, Dean, made a survey of 20 cities in Arkansas in 1954 and 1955 to determine "community attitudes toward integration." He was paid an annual salary of \$6,000.00 by the NAACP, and remained in Arkansas for over a year. He participated in the conference in Little Rock on October 24, 1954, along with Daisy

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Bates, Gloster ~~Current~~, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Wiley A.

~~Branton~~, and others, at which time a program was laid down for the filing of further integration suits in Arkansas, and which resulted in the case of Aaron v. Cooper, the Little Rock Central High School integration suit. Spottswood and Current have been cited numerous times as aiding and abetting communist and communist front organizations.

8. DR. CHARLES GOMILLION. Dr. Charles Gomillion is Dean of Tuskegee Institute and was the organizer of the boycott at Tuskegee. He is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which organized the boycott and the racial trouble there. He was a supporter of Rev. Martin Luther ~~King~~ in the Montgomery bus boycott, and the two of them attended a communist gathering at Monteagle, Tennessee, of the Highlander Folk School in 1957. He has worked in close accord with Aubrey ~~Williams~~, an individual who assisted Commonwealth College in 1934. Williams also attended the Monteagle Conference, as did Abner W. ~~Berry~~, an identified member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America. Claude C. ~~Williams~~, a former resident of Paris, Arkansas, in the thirties who was active in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World, which was stirring up racial unrest then, also attended the Conference.

9. THURGOOD MARSHALL. Thurgood Marshall is general counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a subsidiary of the NAACP. He contracted for that organization to pay Dr. Vernon McDaniel to come into Arkansas and make a survey to determine the target cities for integration in Arkansas. This was arranged by Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Charles Gomillion.

10. HARRY ASHMORE. Harry Ashmore is Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and former Chief Editorial Writer. In 1948, he urged through editorial columns of his paper that Henry Wallace's name be placed on the ballot in Arkansas. He was subsequently

named a director of the Fund for the Republic, and as such, assisted in channeling \$450,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, a portion of which was channeled to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1957, at the height of the Little Rock Central High School incident, the Fund for the Republic sent contributions directly to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

IV.

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION, OPERATED IN ARKANSAS, CREATING RACIAL UNREST, FROM AT LEAST 1925 THROUGH 1941, WHEN IT WAS CLOSED AS THE RESULT OF A STATE COURT ORDER.

*Special Investigation
Committee of the Ark.
Legislature Council
12/16-17-18/58
Little Rock,
Ark.*

TESTIMONY OF

Hon. J. L. "Bex" ~~Shaver~~ testified that he is a former member of the Arkansas Legislature, Lt. Governor of the State of Arkansas, and former President of the Arkansas Bar Association. When he was a member of the General Assembly, he interrogated witnesses as a member of a special committee which investigated Commonwealth College in 1935. He introduced the official transcript from the House Journal of that investigation. His testimony and the transcript reflect the following:

In 1925, Commonwealth College settled west of Mena, Arkansas. This school had no particular academic requirements, tuition or qualifications for students or faculty. No attempt was made to belie the fact that it was communistic in nature, and to a large extent was supported by organizations with subversive backgrounds. In about 1932, Lucien ~~Koch~~ became the director (president) of the school. He subsequently engaged in creating racial tension in connection with the formation of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union, and the Workingmen's Union of the World in and about Fort Smith and Russellville. Koch, Bob ~~Reed~~ and Autry ~~Delaney~~ went into East Arkansas, especially in

Cross and Poinsett Counties, and made inflammatory speeches denouncing the landowners, the federal government and the administration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In this connection, one Claude ~~X~~Williams wrote Koch a letter while the latter was in the Tyronza jail, wherein he talked of the "united front" that had been promulgated by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Claude Williams at that time was actively engaged in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World at Paris, Arkansas. The representatives of Commonwealth College who went into East Arkansas promised prospective members of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union 40 acres, a mule and a plow, and advanced a plan similar to the agrarian reform plan of China which has resulted in the death of over 20 million Chinese during the past two decades.

Thus we find a subversive organization operated in Arkansas, creating racial unrest, from at least 1925 through 1941, when Commonwealth was closed as the result of a State court order.

2. COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES IN ARKANSAS
ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN 1948.

Hon. C. G. "Crip" ~~Hall~~, Secretary of State, State of Arkansas, testified that the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, Henry Wallace, applied to him to have his name placed on the ballot of the November General Election. Mr. Hall asked Wallace to comply with Act 33, Ark. Acts of 1935, as amended by Act 293, Ark. Acts of 1941, which provides that a candidate must sign an affidavit that his party "is not directly or indirectly affiliated by any means whatsoever with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third Communist International, or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government." Wallace refused to comply with the act. Mr. Hall further testified that pictures made in his

*Approved by the
Committee of the
Ark. Legislature
Comm. 2 held
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Little Rock,
Ark.*

office and on the front steps of the Capitol Building at that time have been in his personal possession since 1948. He introduced the pictures, and from the one made on the front steps of the Capitol Building, he identified Daisy Bates, State President of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People for a number of years, as the person standing immediately next to Wallace; he also identified L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, and a white man on Wallace's right called Ladislav or "Laddie" ~~Pushkarsky~~. ^{Pushkarsky} Mr. Hall testified that Daisy Bates left "arm in arm" with Wallace when they retired from his office inside the Capitol to the front steps. This bit of testimony belies the assertion that Daisy Bates was at the Capitol that day merely as a reporter for her husband's newspaper. Wallace wanted to make a speech on the front steps of the Capitol, but Mr. Hall denied him that privilege as contrary to State law. Mr. Hall also introduced a newspaper clipping from the Arkansas Gazette dated October 22, 1954, wherein it recited an account of a meeting of the NAACP at Mount Zion Baptist Church, Little Rock; it stated that Gloster B. Current, Vernon McDaniel, Daisy Bates, and others were present.

Mr. Hall further testified that the names of Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Laddie Pushkarsky appeared on the petition of electors to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot.

A newspaper article from the Times Dispatch entitled, "Inter-racial Breakfast" was introduced by Mr. Hall, which stated that Wallace attended a breakfast for Negroes and Whites at the home of a Little Rock supporter, Leonard Farmer, hereafter identified as then and now, a communist.

Hon. Guy E. Williams, ^{TESTIMONY OF} former three-term Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and present Chancellor and Probate Judge

*Special Committee on
the Civil Liberties Council
Dec 12/11-17-18/58
J. Lee Bush*

of the First Chancery District of Arkansas, testified that he was acquainted with Leonard Farmer by virtue of a divorce suit filed by Farmer against his wife in the Pulaski Chancery Court. A divorce was granted but was subsequently set aside and separate maintenance was granted to the wife of Leonard Farmer. An opinion written in connection with the setting aside of the divorce by Judge Williams was introduced, wherein it stated that Leonard Farmer was a member of the Communist Party and had been for several years.

Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislature Council Held 12/16-17-18/58
7-11-58 Robert E. Diles, presently a Referee for the Arkansas Workmen's Compensation Commission, testified that he attended Little Rock Junior College in 1947, and one of his classmates was Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. That Pushkarsky's philosophy of government was communistic in nature. He was informed by a member of one of the federal agencies that Pushkarsky is now in Poland, has renounced his American citizenship, and is a member of the Communist Party in Poland.

From the foregoing, we find that L. C. and Daisy Bates, along with two known communists, Farmer and Pushkarsky, actively supported Henry Wallace in his campaign in Arkansas in 1948.

3. MANY ORGANIZATIONS OF A SUBVERSIVE NATURE HAVE OPERATED IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS WITH THE GOAL OF CREATING RACIAL TENSION AND UNREST.

(A) MANY OFFICIALS, BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL, OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH OR ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIST OR COMMUNIST FRONT ACTIVITIES.

Honorable Bruce Bennett, Attorney General of the State of Arkansas, testified that he has made an investigation of the matters before this Committee. He introduced a letter signed by C. J. Hauch, Jr., Brig. Gen., United States Army, stating that Clarence Laws, Field Secretary for the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People assigned to Arkansas, had been discharged from the United States Army for security reasons. Mr. Bennett also introduced an article which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette September 7, 1957, identifying Clarence Laws as Field Secretary for the NAACP in Arkansas; he also introduced a letterhead showing the national officers and board of directors of the NAACP, and an answer to an interrogatory in a suit filed against the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund by the State of Arkansas, which showed that Dr. Vernon McDaniel, an associate of Dr. Charles Gomillion, made a survey regarding racial integration in 20 cities and towns in

Arkansas, including Little Rock and Pine Bluff, and was paid \$6,000.00 by the NAACP. *Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislative Council - 12/11-17-18/58 in Little Rock, Ark.*

Testimony of Hon. Oren Harris, who has been a Member of Congress for 18 years, testified that upon the request of Bruce Bennett, he secured from the House Un-American Activities Committee information concerning the officers and directors of the NAACP, and introduced it at the hearing. It reflects that practically all of the national officers and directors of the NAACP have been cited at least five, and up to 176 times as being affiliated with communist or communist front organizations.

From the testimony of the above witnesses and exhibits, we therefore find that the national and local officers and directors of the NAACP are extremely sympathetic with communist or communist front organizations.

(B) MANY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CITED AS SUBVERSIVE OR WHICH HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED WITH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS HAVE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORS AND OFFICIALS WITH THE NAACP AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN ARKANSAS.

TESTIMONY OF Dr. J. B. Matthews testified that he was Director of Research between the years of 1938 and 1945 for the Special

Special Education Committee of the Ark. Legislative Council held 12/16-17-18/58 in Little Rock, Ark.

Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C. Dr. Matthews called particular attention to the fact that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was not to be confused with the Southern Regional Educational Board, the latter a valid, highly ethical organization composed of 17 State government instrumentalities formed as the result of an educational compact.

Dr. Matthews testified that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare was an organization set up by the communists, and was the first major thrust of the communists in the South; this was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which James A. Dombrowski is the executive director and is noted for his communistic activities. Dombrowski is also quite active in Highlander Folk School. L. C. Bates is on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at present, and at least 221 individuals associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been cited for their connections with communists or communist activities. Aubrey Williams was president of this organization, and has been cited many times for his communist and communist front activities. Dr. Matthews further stated that many communists were officers of these organizations.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the following organizations have been infiltrated by communists and/or communist sympathizers: (1) The Southern Regional Council; (2) The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; (3) various state councils on human relations; (4) Highlander Folk School; (5) The Southern Conference for Human Welfare; (6) The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council is sponsored and directed by some members who have been cited numerous times for belonging to organizations listed as subversive by either the House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Internal Security Committee, or the Attorney General of the United States. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a branch of the Southern Regional Council, which latter organization has received

several hundred thousand dollars from The Fund for the Republic as a grant; the Fund has been lavish in its contributions to communist and near communist organizations. Harry Ashmore is on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, and one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is closely affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Grace Lorch was given an honorarium by that Committee. Lee Lorch has been discharged from several universities for his alleged communist party affiliation, and has invoked the Fifth Amendment many times. At least 50 high officials and leaders of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated in one capacity or another with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and Southern Conference Educational Fund. Among those named were Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. One Clark Foreman, who was Henry Wallace's campaign manager, has been a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has headed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before a Committee of the Senate of the United States. M. Lafayette Harris has been on the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, has been used for communist and communist front purposes for the past 25 years.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the Southern Conference Educational Fund has penetrated 94 white colleges and universities of the South. He defined the term "penetration" as meaning that these institutions had at least one employee who belonged to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He further stated

that the fact that a person belongs to only one subversive organization does not necessarily mean that such a person is a communist or pro-communist. He recited the method by which the Communist Party exploited individuals in the educational field; that these individuals became dupes of the party apparatus, their prestige thereafter being exploited by aiding in making the organization respectable. These dupes, wittingly or unwittingly, oft times are of far more value to the Communist Party than an avowed member of the Party. Whether they are pro-communistic is a matter of relevancy; the great damage they do to the United States lies in their clothing a communist-penetrated organization with a degree of respect it would not otherwise enjoy. In order for a communist front to operate, there must be members who are not communistic or pro-communistic in order for such organizations to operate with any degree of respect. He again emphasized that the mere fact that a university or college had one or more employees who belonged to these cited organizations did not mean that the institution had become communistic per se. He stated, however, that the Communist Party deemed it "penetration" of an institution if they could secure faculty or employee memberships in organizations which they, the communists, controlled either directly or indirectly. Dr. Matthews emphasized that this is no particular condemnation of a school or school authorities where it is evident an officer, faculty member or employee had joined a subversive organization; but condemnation should be visited where it is shown there is continued affiliation after exposure.

(1) Herbert R. Byrd and Rusty Ralston, with a radio and television station respectively, testified that they had been actively engaged in gathering news for a number of years, and that when they recently called on the Little Rock Office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, they asked Nat

*Special Education - C. H. Byrd and Rusty Ralston
C. H. Byrd and Rusty Ralston
C. H. Byrd and Rusty Ralston*

W. T. Griswald, Executive Secretary of the Corporation, what its objectives and program are. They testified that Griswald refused to give them any information whatsoever, was evasive, and so far as they could learn, no one in the communications field in Arkansas has been able to learn anything at all about the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Therefore, it is apparent that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—which has been cited as a subversive organization—the Southern Regional Council—which has been infiltrated with known communists and communist sympathizers—are of their very nature pro-communists. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, child of the Southern Regional Council, necessarily follows the aims and goals of its parent organization. True, some of the individuals who belong to these organizations may be willing or unwilling dupes, but in most instances, either through ignorance or inclination, have remained members; consequently, they are not worthy of the public confidence and leadership.

4. THE GOALS, AIMS AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE MANIFESTED IN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED TO CREATE RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS. *Ark. Legislative Council*

TESTIMONY Manning Johnson testified that he is a former member of the Communist Party; he belonged to the Communist Party between 1930 and 1940, and reached the position of member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, which is the highest ranking committee of the American Communist Party. He testified that in 1928, the Communist Party Comintern of Moscow by resolution ordered the American Communist Party to use every means to cause racial unrest in the South, and laid down a program encompassing a concept of a "Black Republic" in the South. A group of cities in the South were designated by the Communist Party in 1932 as critical areas where the Party

could more effectively create racial tension and strife. Among these cities were Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. One of the aims of the Communist Party was to infiltrate and organize as many organizations as possible that are concerned with the Negro race; included among these was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He also testified that every organization and association supposedly organized for the purpose of benefiting the Negro, had, to some extent, been infiltrated by the Communist Party, or its sympathizers. These organizations included the NAACP. In some instances the Communist Party itself created the organization, and in other instances it merely infiltrated. Among other methods used to create racial unrest, the Communist Party adopted certain positions which it felt would create racial unrest in order to attract members of the Negro race, and to pressure other organizations with similar aims to adopt similar positions. An example of this was the position toward integration adopted by the Communist Party calling for immediate integration, and within an extremely short time the NAACP changes its position of "gradualism" to immediate integration. He attributed this to the fact that the NAACP had many communist sympathizers in its high ranks.

Some direct quotes from Manning Johnson's testimony are as follows:

" . . . The NAACP and the Communist are responsible for the racial turmoil and strife. . . . I am saying this, as far as Little Rock is concerned the NAACP is backed by the Communist and set up this situation and they are using Little Rock as a place where they can make a test battle. . . . Not only Little Rock and Pine Bluff but a large section of Arkansas including Pine Bluff and Little Rock was described as areas of concentration. * * * The Reds are going to do all their devilish work in and through the NAACP.

In other words, the Reds let it be known all their energies and as much money as they can raise is going to the support of the NAACP as a vehicle to carry out their so-called National Liberation Program. . . . The leaders of the NAACP are quick to denounce anybody who dares to expose or investigate the Communist infiltration of the NAACP. Why? Because most of them have skeletons in their closets. Fearing exposure they yell Smear. There is a saying among Communist that the best defense is an offensive. That is attack the other fellow. The NAACP leaders are very adept in attacking others. When a reporter spoke to Daisy Bates about this hearing one of the first words she used was 'Smear'. . . . The NAACP because it has kept its skirts clean while wearing dirty underwear is a good front for the reds. It has a mass base among negroes. It operates like an arm of the federal government, it demands everything, gives nothing. It is an effective agitator, it stirs up hate, it throws negroes into fights that are ruinous in the long run. It demands equal rights while it shuns negro responsibility. Such an organization is made to order for the Reds. The Supreme Court and the NAACP have set the stage for a long period of race bitterness, hate, frustration. Already much progress in race relations has been wiped out. Trends is back to the dark days following reconstruction. Americans are taking side. The reds are shifting into high gear in the expectation that a spark by an extremist on either side may be the one

that can start violent race conflicts all over the country. The number of northern politicians are walking in these muddy waters to flatter the negro votes in the north so as to get elected to office. There are others who are using the race issue to centralize more power in Washington thus laying the foundation for a dictatorship either of the left or right, depending on who gets control of the government. Indeed the NAACP, their red backers and supporters are taking the Negro on a ride. A ride to economic social and political ruin. Thanks again to the Supreme Court for freeing the red leaders, scuttling the Smith Act, on wiping out the state sedition acts, wrecking the entire internal security apparatus, making it impossible to deport red aliens and elevating the reds to a preferred status all in the name of preserving the bill of rights which the reds are pledged to destroy along with all free government. A check of all those who scream for the democratic rights of the reds will reveal that they are reds, fellow travelers, sympathizers, fronters, apologists, eggheads, fuzzy headed intellectuals, etc. They are the same people who back and support the NAACP. They are the same ones responsible for all the racial strife in our country. They are the modern day carpet baggers, who have no interest in the south and only pretend to have an interest in the negro so that they can use him. It is quite possible that the preservation of our Republic is being fought out in Arkansas because here is being challenged the excesses of federal power. . . . The NAACP backers are pressing the federal government to turn the F.B.I., our fine security agency into a gestapo to hound and arrest all

dissenters except reds. The negro is but a mere pawn in the game. He will be the loser and the sufferer. Any victory he may win will be a pathetic one. White Americans will lose too because they will have lost their great heritage, the American Republic. . . .

There was a time when the NAACP believed in gradualism but the line has changed and today the NAACP is march-

ing right down the avenue that the communists have ^{Education Committee} mapped out for them to take. . . . " ^{of the C. C. P. in the Congress} ^{12/11-12-14/58} ^{Little}

^{T. T. Banister} Hon. W. Guy Banister, former Special Agent for the Federal ^{Records}

Bureau of Investigation with 20 years service, testified that the Communist Party, as part of its operation procedure, is out to smear all investigating committees, including this Special Education Committee, plus the F.B.I., House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Committee. He stated that all of the witnesses at these hearings would be subject to smear. He stated that organizations listed as subversive always attempted to bring in people of good reputation and standing in the community, and used them as a front for the nefarious operation of the communist apparatus. It was his testimony that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the counterpart of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations—and both beholden to the Southern Regional Council—dissolved itself immediately after subversive hearings were held by the Louisiana Legislative Council. The objective of the communist conspiracy was world domination, by force, including the United States, and the destruction of our government. Mr. Banister recited the duties of a Special Agent for the F.B.I., and paid extremely high compliments to the Bureau and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, its director. He quoted Mr. Hoover as saying: "To dismiss lightly the existence of subversion or to deal lightly with it is to commit national suicide." He recited the fact that the Communist Party exploits everything that is going on, if it can get into the organization. In answer to a question: "Is it your

opinion that there has been some subversion in the difficulty we have had here in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the past few months?" Mr. Banister answered: "It is my opinion and there are certain indications it was started deliberately with these subversive influences in this part of the country." He stated that the communists create incidents, and then exploit them for their benefit; create unrest and ultimately divide and conquer; to create hate is the main thing. Mr. Banister stated that it was not surprising to him to learn that there was an organization operating under the name of "Arkansas Council on Human Relations." He stated there used to be a communist printing plant in Little Rock which was prepared to go underground "if some organization or some group like the Supreme Court (of the United States) didn't bail them out."

Mr. Banister outlined a smear campaign that would be leveled at the F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover, and the various Congressional Committees that investigate subversion this year by the Fund for the Republic, Emergency Civil Liberties Union, and others. He stated that the main objective of the Southern Regional Council and its subsidiaries, the various state councils on human relations in the Southern States is "to engage in mischief" and "to create friction between the races", and "that communism thrives on friction between the races." Mr. Banister specifically testified:

" . . . Such activities as the various communist fronts engage in and such organizations as the Fund for the Republic and other fronts have this large amount of money to give away and it is given away not without checking of course. It seems it is usually done to further some project that is set up adversely affecting the things we believe to be worth while in this country. . . ."

Mr. Banister testified that he is convinced that there has been subversion in the racial unrest we have experienced here in Arkansas.

It seems evident to this Committee that the Communist Party has used many organizations that cater to the Negro race in order to create racial strife and unrest. Other organizations that are not communist are forced to adopt the same position as the Communist Party by means of infiltration, or by pressure created by communists and communist sympathizers.

CONCLUSION

The basic question presented for determination by this Committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress and tranquility marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This Committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the international communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism, heretofore, has always been something that happened elsewhere; but the record reflects that for a number of years an almost incredible number of communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The Committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon

McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gomillion who travels in harness with communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the Committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-communist affidavit; that known communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State President of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the three-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

The Committee is convinced that the racial unrest in Arkansas was deliberately planned by the Communist Party as part of the directive handed down by Moscow in 1928. The communist apparatus has used many organizations in our State. Some of them have been found subversive by appropriate governmental instrumentalities; others include in their officers and directors those individuals who have been cited as aiding and supporting communist or communist front organizations. We find it noteworthy that these organizations, infiltrated with communists and pro-communists, have actively supported racial unrest in Arkansas. They tried, and were successful, in making Little Rock a world-wide incident. From the evidence introduced at the

hearings it is quite apparent, when once perceiving the goals and operations of the Communist Party, that the Little Rock incident was certainly another link in its chain of created incidents designed for its benefit alone, which was mapped out four decades ago.

The Committee further finds—based on credible evidence from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the United States Attorney General's Subversive List, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and others—that many of the top officers of the national NAACP have been cited numerous times for aiding and abetting communist or communist front organizations. These top officials have sent individuals of very questionable loyalty to our government to Arkansas as their paid employees. In turn they met with local officials of the NAACP and planned the events which culminated in the so-called Little Rock incident. We believe that the NAACP is and has been sympathetic toward communist causes, and that the goal of the communist is not to help the Negro as such, but merely to use him. In that desire to use the Negro, we find that the communists have always tried to infiltrate organizations attractive to the Negro race.

The Committee feels that it would be amiss of its duty should it not report its findings in regard to various corporations that worked in Arkansas. We have been unable to learn of any public or private good that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has ever rendered, and the same may be said of the Southern Regional Council. Both of these organizations have been subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and, wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the communist apparatus. The Fund for the Republic, with Harry Ashmore of Arkansas on the national board of directors, has given considerable money to

the NAACP. It has also given about one-half million dollars to the Southern Regional Council—with Daisy Bates on the board of directors, who in turn channeled part of the money to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which had the same Ashmore and Bates as incorporators. A former F.B.I. agent of 20 years service, when questioned at the hearings about the activities of these three organizations, summed up his disgust at their nefarious schemes by simply answering, "to create mischief."

The Committee has become aghast at the viciousness with which some segments of the press have attacked the purposes of the hearings. We feel that the people of the world are entitled to know that a peaceful people have been torn asunder by the communist conspiracy. But some members of the press seem determined to becloud the issue, smear the purposes of the hearings, and reach any conclusion other than the fact that there was subversion present in our difficulties here. This the Committee deplores.

It is the conclusion of this Committee that from the evidence presented before it, and from the findings of fact which this Committee has made, that subversion was present in the racial unrest in our State. We further conclude that had it not been for the communists, ^{etc} pro-communists, fellow travelers and dupes—along with the organizations above listed—that the harmony and peace existent between the races for over 100 years would not have been interrupted. We pray for a restoration of that peace and harmony so that all the people of Arkansas may march forward to a more abundant and proud life under our Creator, Almighty God.

RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS

